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MEDICAL EDUCATION IN VERMONT

By John W. King

During the colonial times and the fifty years subsequent to the Declaration of Independence any young man in America who wished to study medicine repaired to the nearest practicing physician who accepted apprentices to spend three years or so with him "reading medicine." The system was that of apprentice and master, the latter ordinarily being referred to as the preceptor. Most physicians accepted apprentices whether they had had their own training from one of the foreign universities or from the few poorly attended domestic medical schools which gave degrees or had no degree at all. In return for food, lodging, and training the preceptor had the use of his students as clinical clerks, pharmacists, hostlers, and errand boys. The prestige acquired by the physician who trained many students was enormous and covered adequately the expense of time, energy and money incurred by the preceptor.

Because many of these preceptors were able, competent men who were anxious to do better by their students than they alone were able to do many of them established training programs which became the medical colleges of modern days. Thus we find that as the result of Selah Gridley's efforts in Castleton the Castleton Medical Academy was established in 1818. Burlington's early efforts at medical education were initiated and sustained by John Pomeroy, physician and surgeon, who ultimately became a member of the faculty at the University of Vermont and whose school eventually became the department of medicine of that institution. Joseph Gallup, after an unsuccessful trial on the faculties in both Castleton and Burlington, withdrew to Woodstock to found his own school to make the third regularly organized medical school in Vermont. Each of the schools was unusual in some way. Castleton was the first proprietary medical school in the United States; Woodstock was a pioneer in bedside teaching; and Burlington, the only survivor of the three, was in many ways at the beginning the weakest of these and demonstrated what could be accomplished by grim determination to succeed in the face of poverty, fire, panic, and war.

Because of the number of these schools and because Vermont is

Vermont, the history of medical education in the Green Mountain State is a turbulent saga of name calling, back biting and politics. There was fierce competition among the schools for legislative favors, dissecting material, faculty and, above all, for students. Because all of these schools changed their names at intervals during their history it is best to refer to them by their location. Castleton Medical Academy was chartered in 1818; it became the Vermont Academy of Medicine in 1822 and the Castleton Medical College in 1841. The school at Woodstock began as the Clinical School of Medicine in 1827 and became the Vermont Medical College in 1835. Burlington was much more conservative in its name changes. In its much longer life span as compared with the others it made only two minor changes; it started as the medical department of the University of Vermont and at present is known as the College of Medicine of that institution.

The school at Castleton was founded in 1818 in accordance to a charter given by the state legislature to Doctors Selah Gridley, Theodore Woodward, and J. L. C. Cazier, proprietors, of Castleton. None of these men held a medical degree although Cazier had been the recipient of an honorary M.A. from the University of Vermont where he had spent two years as professor of physiology and anatomy under Dr. Pomeroy. Gridley and Woodward were practicing physicians and were senior proprietors and as such controlled the destinies of the new school. Cazier dropped from the picture in 1820 and is believed to have moved to New York state to practice medicine. Gridley was the first president of the new school and its professor of theory and practice of medicine and of materia medica. A dominating personality he unfortunately became insane and terminated his connections with the Academy in 1824. Woodward, the other senior proprietor, taught surgery and obstetrics until 1839 and served as dean from 1828 until then. He also died insane in 1839 causing the school to suspend operation for two years until reorganization could be accomplished. The school in spite of these difficulties was a vigorous one and its graduates in point of numbers, at least, far outweighed the graduates of the two other Vermont schools. Because the legislature had omitted inadvertently a provision in the charter to permit the academy to grant degrees a connection was made with Middlebury College in 1818. This connection was a nominal one in which the college agreed to grant M.D. degrees to the graduates of Castleton. In spite of the fact that the legislature remedied their omission in the next session the arrangement with Middlebury College persisted until 1827. The two schools were twenty miles apart, all tuition paid by

the medical students went to the Castleton school, so except for the prestige of having a medical department and the graduation fee Middlebury gained little from the arrangement.

The Castleton school was ransacked by a mob of angry farmers from Hubbardton who marched on the school and recovered the body of a neighbor woman taken for dissection by the anatomy students. Such mob riots were not uncommon and almost all medical schools, at one time or another, were subject to such indignities. The school was first to employ the accelerated program and from 1835 to 1837 and again in 1844 and 1845 offered two lecture terms a year. Under such conditions the medical students could complete their school work in one year and receive the title of doctor. The evils of such a system are apparent and the professional brethern in the state cast many an offended gaze in the direction of Castleton. The birth of the American Medical Association, with its interest in advancing the profession prevented continuation of this plan.

Relationships between the various schools in Vermont was never really good. Selah Gridley and John Pomeroy had been friends and had referred patients to each other. They had worked together on the organization of the Vermont State Medical Society without apparent discord. But Gridley remained with his school but four years after its founding and Pomeroy but one term with his. Gridley's successor was Dr. Theodore Woodward, who like Gridley died in the madhouse. Dr. Woodward a nephew of Nathan Smith had attended one term of lectures at Dartmouth but had not graduated. In 1821 both Middlebury College and Harvard gave him honorary M.D. degrees. An aggressive person he pushed his medical school at the expense of the other schools and in 1836 Dr. Benjamin Lincoln of Burlington highlighted his opinion of Woodward in his penetrating but intemperate "Hints on the status of medical education in New England." This essay started out as a discussion of the status of medical education and ended in a vituperative tirade against Woodward and his "deeds of darkness." It would appear that Lincoln had cause to be annoyed; Woodward admitted that he had tried to underbid the Burlington school in regard to the tuition for Canadian students but publicly accused the Burlington group of unfair practices, charges which were apparently without any substantial background. A charitable interpretation of this series of amazing documents requires one to remember that Woodward was adjudged insane a year later and that Lincoln at the time of the controversy was suffering from an illness which was to prove mortal. Following the removal of these two

central figures both schools lapsed. Castleton revived in association with Albany in a half hearted manner within the next two years, Burlington did not reopen until 1853. Castleton in turn failed completely in 1856 after Dr. Perkins its president and dean quarrelled with the trustees and faculty and went to Burlington as professor of obstetrics.

The only surviving medical school in Vermont is the one at Burlington. The date of founding is usually given as 1822 at which time a full faculty was first organized but the university had had a professor of medicine and surgery since 1809 and the appointment of lecturer in chirurgery and anatomy had been made in 1804. John Pomeroy who held both of these appointments conducted a "school" for medical students and gave formal lectures or courses to them as early as 1813. It is said that he had the help from other physicians in town especially in the subject of obstetrics and it is known that Dr. Kennam of the university staff, his son J. N. Pomeroy, his assistant William Atwater, and J. L. C. Cazier at various times lectured on some of the preclinical subjects. Indeed John N. Pomeroy's lectures in chemistry are said to be the first series of lectures prepared for and given solely to medical students in the United States. In 1822 the corporation of the university voted to request the medical gentlemen of the town to receive appointments. This was done and the medical gentlemen accepted with a result that a faculty of five was appointed which included Pomeroy in surgery and Nathan R. Smith in anatomy. The students in the class which started in 1822 are the first to be listed in the General Catalogue of the University as recipients of earned M.D. degrees.

The new school had an auspicious beginning but in its earlier years never showed the lusty spirit apparent at Castleton and Woodstock. Four students graduated in 1824 and from then until 1836 only 116 students received degrees, compared with over 250 degrees given at Castleton during the same period. Because of its university connections and of the devoted efforts of relatively few men it managed to survive and eventually became the only remaining medical school in Vermont.

It is an interesting commentary on the status of medical education of the time that the new school offered to grant degrees to respectable practitioners of five year's standing prior to 1822 who attended one series of lectures at U. V. M. That this was an indication of the general low state of educational standards and not of any unusual "short cut to medicine" offered by the University is shown by a remark by a later

writer that it took longer to learn to be a joiner or a plumber than a doctor.

A new medical building was erected on the south end of the college green in 1829. An interested reader will find references in the early Burlington papers to a series of lectures to be given on physiology, open to the general public and including a nonoffensive discussion of sex. The proceeds of the lectures were designed to help defray the expenses of the new medical school.

In spite of the devoted efforts of a few stalwarts the school suspended operation in 1836 not to reopen until 1852 when the efforts of Drs. L. W. Bliss and S. W. Thayer resulted in the corporation granting permission for the reopening of the school. The medical faculty was to run the school financially and was not allowed to involve the University in debt. They were allowed the use of college buildings and equipment and to reopen the school in 1853 with a faculty of six. From this time on the school has been prosperous, the class of 1884 reached 101 students. A new building was erected in 1884 which burned in 1903, destroying many college records. This was rebuilt in 1906. At the present time this building is bulging at its seams. The increased growth and activity of all departments of the school has literally filled the building to the bursting point. In spite of this handicap the school continues to be a dynamic force behind progress of Vermont medicine.

Joseph Gallup, M.D. founded a school in Woodstock, Vermont which became the Vermont Medical College. From a teaching standpoint its outlook was strangely modern. Clinical material was utilized to a much greater extent than in almost any other school in the entire country and the name of the Clinical School was not misnomer. Gallup was an individualist and while on the faculties at Burlington and Castleton fought with his colleagues, fights which terminated in his exodus. As the founder and most important member of the faculty at Woodstock things went fairly well, until other powerful men arose, to break into schisms with the result that Gallup lost his own school and dropped from the history of medical education.

The Clinical School started in 1828 and granted its first degrees through connections with Middlebury and Waterville (Maine) Colleges. The influence of Castleton and U. V. M. prevented legislative approval of its own degrees. Even the Waterville connections were questioned and this academic relationship which jumped two state boundaries came to an end. The result of all of this was to cast doubt on the validity of the degrees granted by the school and con-

tributed greatly to its difficulties. This and a combination of other factors, including competition with the Burlington school, the financial panic, the approaching war and the difficulties of keeping faculty and students happy, resulted in the abandoning of the school in 1856.

At various times other medical colleges were attempted, in particular at Rutland and Bennington but they were fly-by-night concerns which were never recognized as regularly organized and accepted schools.

No discussion of Vermont medical education is complete without mention of the Smiths, father and son. Nathan Smith was a farm boy whose interest in medicine was aroused as the result of his having to help with a leg amputation on a neighbor. As a result of this experience he decided to study medicine and became the foremost medical educator of his age. He was the founder of the medical schools at Dartmouth, Yale and Bowdoin and as a special lecturer at Burlington, in 1823 and 1824, is often given rather undeserved credit for the founding of this school also. While at Dartmouth he constituted the major part of the medical faculty and Oliver Wendell Holmes is reported to have said that Smith occupied, not a chair, but a whole settee. His career in later years is even more remarkable. He became the prototype of the peripatetic professor and lectured in New Haven, Bowdoin and Burlington, all in the same year at a time when travel was a far more strenuous and slow activity than now. His son Nathan Ryno Smith was the first professor of anatomy and physiology at the University of Vermont but unfortunately left Vermont after only two terms at the University to work with George McClelland in the founding of Philadelphia's second medical school—the Jefferson Medical College. His place in Vermont history is assured by his marriage to Juliette Octavia Penniman, daughter of Judge Penniman and Mrs. Penniman, the widow of Ethan Allen.

AGRICULTURE AND POLITICS IN THE VERMONT TRADITION

By Edwin C. Rozwenc

Vermont did not begin to attain any distinctiveness in the agricultural history of the United States until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In the first half century after the Green Mountain Boys had destroyed British power in their particular section of North America, Vermont was a frontier state with the usual frontier characteristics of self-sufficiency and diversity in agriculture. The vigorous settlers who chopped out their farms in the valleys and on the hillsides of Vermont experienced no insuperable problems of livelihood in their geographical isolation as long as they were willing to bear with the hard work and many discomforts of pioneer life.

In the new settlements which were being laid out in Vermont, there was wood in abundance for the building of houses, barns and fences as well as for the ingenious home manufactures of the agricultural implements, furniture and woodenware which are now such prized pieces in the museums and the private collections of antiquities in New England. A few acres of wheat, rye and corn would supply the family with "rye and Injun" bread, porridge and puddings. The ubiquitous small flocks and herds of sheep, pigs and cows enriched the early settlers' tables with pork, beef and mutton, usually dried, salted or pickled. From these same farm animals came the homemade butter and cheese and lard which added variety and interest to the diet of the pioneer family. An abundance of game in the forests and fish in the many lakes and streams of Vermont make it easy for fiction writers to romanticize the plenteousness of these early years in the history of Vermont with considerable semblance of the truth. Many of the same trees that provided fuel or lumber also provided a flavorous sweetening and the business of making sugar and syrup from the sap of maple trees became a regular operation from the earliest days of settlement. The incessant routine of household industry supplied much of the clothing and bedding necessary for a more comfortable existence in the vigorous winters for which Vermont is so justly famed.

Of course, complete self-sufficiency was no more possible for the settlers of Vermont than for any other pioneer settlements in the

history of America. For Vermonters, the main dependence upon the outside was for such commodities as salt, tea and the familiar "West India goods"—coffee, molasses and rum. To obtain these, Vermont farmers hauled dead hogs, pork, butter, cheese and maple sugar over the snow to Boston, Albany, New York and Montreal. In this way also, "store goods" such as crockery or finer cloths would be acquired to brighten the interiors of the farmhouse and to satisfy the age-old desire of women for adornment. Another valuable trading commodity was potash and pearlash from the sooty iron caldrons and kilns which were to be found on so many farms in Vermont in these early years.[1]

There must have been good prospects of such primitive abundance in those early days of self-sufficiency because thousands of new settlers were attracted to Vermont after the end of the American Revolution. In the four decades from 1790 to 1830, Vermont gained in population 79,000, 63,000, 18,000 and 44,000 respectively.[2] This migration into Vermont, however, was a part of the normal process of expansion which had been going on in New England since the middle of the seventeenth century. As desirable areas in Massachusetts and Connecticut became filled up, Vermont was an attractive area for the creation of settlements not too far removed from the ties of family and church in the older settled areas. But the rushing stream of migration into Vermont during these early decades was not caught and held by the valleys of Vermont. By mid-century, stay-at-home Vermonters watched their sons join the on-rushing current of migration from New England to the cheap and fertile lands of the West.

The new means of transportation which helped to encourage that westward movement of population also assisted the transformation of Vermont from a self-sufficient rural economy to a semi-specialized kind of commercial agriculture. As the railroads crept into Vermont between 1830 and 1870, the farmers of that state found new marketing opportunities in the rapidly growing factory towns of Massachusetts and New York which stimulated many of them to develop specialized forms of agricultural production.[3]

The most significant of these specializations in the early phase of the

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1 For a more detailed picture of this early period of agricultural history see Percy Wells Bidwell, *Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1916), esp. Chs. I, VI; and Harold Fisher Wilson, *The Hill Country of Northern New England* (New York, 1936), Ch. I.

2 *U. S. Census*, 1940, Population, Vol. I, 1089.

3 See William J. Wilgus, *The Role of Transportation in the Development of Vermont*, (Montpelier, Vt., 1945.)

transition to commercialized agriculture in Vermont was the sheep industry. One of the pioneer sheep breeders of this era, William Jarvis, who had been American Consul at Lisbon during the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, brought about four hundred Spanish Merino sheep to his new farm in Weathersfield, Vermont, in 1811, where, for the next forty-eight years of his life, he bred improved sheep to the lasting benefit of American sheep husbandry. His success with Merinos began to encourage imitators, particularly as the growth of woolen mills in southern New England created a considerable demand for wool. A fairly steady rise in wool prices from 1827 to 1835 brought something like a sheepraising craze to the hills of Vermont and other New England states. By 1840, a total of 1,681,000 sheep were reported for the state of Vermont alone. At that time, Vermont was easily one of the most important sheep raising states in the Union.[4]

The early forties, however, marked the high point of the sheep raising industry in Vermont. The increase of traffic on the Erie Canal system and the extension of the railway network westward brought the competition of lower cost Western wool production. In addition, the lowering of duties on imported wool in the tariff laws of the forties and fifties increased the uncertainties of the sheep raising industry. The decline of the sheep industry of Vermont in the next three decades, while not precipitous, revealed the continual retreat of Vermont farmers in the face of the inexorable forces of economic competition. By 1870, Vermont flocks had been cut to 580,347 sheep, and the end of the decline was not in sight.[5]

The "sheep mania" had never, by any means, created Vermont into a series of sheep pastures. The older patterns of diversity, associated with the age of self-sufficiency in Vermont agriculture, continued. Vermont, in the forties and fifties, was still producing respectable amounts of grains and other livestock besides sheep.[6] Yet the production of wheat, corn, beef cattle and pork was also declining be-

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4 Wilson, *Hill Country*, pp. 76–80.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 81–89.

6 A few agricultural statistics for these decades will illustrate the point.

Agricultural Production in 1850 and 1860

	1850	*1860*
Wheat	535,955 bu.	437,037 bu.
Corn	2,032,396 bu.	1,525,411 bu.
Oats	2,307,734 bu.	3,630,267 bu.
Milk Cows	146,128	174,667
Swine	66,296	52,912

Figures taken from *U. S. Census*, 1850, p. 41; 1860 (Agriculture), pp. 152–153.

cause of western competition. The only sustained gain in those decades was in the number of milk cows and the production of dairy products, already portending the development of Vermont as the great dairy state of New England.

By 1870, therefore, Vermont was on the way toward developing her significant and profitable specialization in dairying. At that time, close to 18,000,000 pounds of butter were being produced annually on Vermont farms and the St. Albans butter market was already renowned throughout the United States as the great exchange center for the Green Mountain State's golden product. For the next seventy-five years the milk cow was to be the main source of income for Vermont farmers and the leading industry of the state[7]—first, through the marketing of butter and cheese and, later, by the daily shipment of millions of gallons of fluid milk to the crowded populations of Boston, New York and a score of lesser cities. The cow literally became sacred in the modern era of Vermont agriculture!

Specialization and commercialization of agriculture have important political consequences. In an age of self-sufficient agriculture, the farmer is a self-reliant individualist and the farm family and the farm neighborhood are the main sources of aid and protection. In this type of rural economy, the main problems arise from the struggle with the natural environment. The catastrophes which require group effort—excepting, of course, war and crime—are the result of the malevolent forces of nature manifesting themselves in many ways—storms, floods, drought, killing posts, pests, blights and diseases. Such problems had to be met with the patience and hard work of the family or the neighborhood group; legislatures and statutes had no real usefulness for the day to day difficulties of the self-sufficient farmer. Hence, it is not to be wondered at that the legislators and governors of Vermont or of any other state rarely concerned themselves with agriculture except to extol the virtues of the independent and self-reliant sons of the soil. In addition, bounties and prizes were offered occasionally to encourage some new kind of agricultural production or to reward improvements in the older lines of production.[8] With the development of specialized commercial farming, the farmer becomes

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[7] In 1939, livestock and livestock products made up 73% of the value of all farm products in Vermont and the total value of all farm products for farms with dairy products as the major source of income was $29,758,358. *U. S. Census*, 1940, Agriculture, Vol. III p. 917.

[8] Thus the legislature of Vermont offered bounties for silk raising. See *Laws of Vermont* 1835 to 1945. Also subsidies were granted to county agricultural societies to be used as premiums and prizes. *Laws of Vermont*, 1843, No. 18.

more and more aware of the influence which legislation can have upon the conditions of marketing and the benefits which can be drawn from the public treasury in order to help meet some of the more costly requirements which specialization and agricultural improvement force upon him. Thus, the rubric, "agriculture," begins to appear in the indexes of the published laws of the states more and more frequently after the middle of the nineteenth century.

In Vermont, these early examples of legislative intervention came as the sheep raising mania was reaching its climax. This legislation took the form of protecting sheep growers by penalizing the farmer who allowed a ram to "run at large" or a sheep with foot rot to infect other farmers' flocks.[9] At the same time, the legislature of Vermont was instructing the representatives of the state in the national Congress to work for increased tariff protection for wool or to oppose any action tending to reduce existing duties.[10] The growth of the wool growing industry in Vermont undoubtedly helped to lay the foundations of the protectionist sentiment and was an important economic motivation for the strong Whig sentiment in that state. The Whig protectionist feelings of the sheep raising era were transmuted readily into Republican protectionism for, by the end of the nineteenth century, the pressures for tariff protection were coming from dairy farmers and maple sugar interests who were afraid of Canadian competition. Hence the unvarying Republicanism of Vermont politics has a logical economic basis in addition to the traditional factors which support it.

The legislative activity in behalf of agriculture in the three decades between 1840 and 1870 was, to be sure, very restricted and very sporadic. Viewed in the longer perspective of the last hundred years, however, it can be taken to represent the beginnings of the ever growing need of legislative aid and intervention in an age of specialized and commercialized agriculture. Hence the history of the development of a state agricultural policy in Vermont belongs to the era since 1870 and is associated primarily, though not exclusively, with the dairying industry.

A consideration of the basic changes in the agricultural economy of Vermont during the nineteenth century offers only a partial explanation of the political behavior of the farming interests of Vermont. To understand the peculiar twists and turns of agricultural issues in

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9 *Laws of Vermont*, 1851, No. 34; 1855, No. 37.

10 See Joint Resolution of House and Senate in *Laws of Vermont*, 1840, 27; and 1852, 80.

Vermont politics it is also necessary to know something of the political traditions of Vermont and the structure of the political institutions of the state.

No one needs to linger very long in Vermont or to browse very widely in the historical studies of Vermont before he discovers a deeply ingrained spirit of independence. This stubborn independence has persisted from the earliest days of Vermont's history. Vermonters remember, with considerable pride, that the "Green Mountain Boys" fought for and established the autonomous condition of the Vermont towns against the efforts of New York Colony to extend effective jurisdiction over the Vermont settlements in the decade before the American Revolution despite a decision of King-in-Council in favor of New York's claims. Vermonters remember, also, that the American Revolution enabled their restless forebears to throw off completely the yoke of Yorkers as well as the British. In January of 1777, a convention of Vermont towns proclaimed a free and independent state and petitioned the Continental Congress for admission to the Union. Congress, however, was unwilling to countenance this secession from one of the more important states in the Union. Nevertheless, a convention of delegates from the towns of Vermont proceeded to frame a constitution, in mid-summer of 1777, modeled on the Pennsylvania constitution of the previous year and sharing the reputation of being one of the most democratic of the state constitutions of the revolutionary era, since so much power was given to the single house assembly elected annually by what amounted to the universal suffrage of all men twenty-one and over.

For fourteen years, Vermont was in fact virtually an independent republic. While the Congress of the Confederation attempted futilely to settle the controversy between New York and Vermont, the people of Vermont governed themselves through their towns and the legislature established by the Constitution of 1777. During those years, this Green Mountain republic actually flirted with expansionist schemes involving a union of towns in western New Hampshire and another group of towns in eastern New York desiring incorporation in the self-constituted "free and independent" state. Attracted by the improved government and the stronger Union after 1789, Vermont ratified the new Constitution, paid New York for its land claims, and yielded its independence in the request for admission to the Union which was granted by Congress in February of 1791.[11]

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[11] For the exciting history of those days see Matt B. Jones, *Vermont in the Making*, 1750–1777 and Charles Miner Thompson, *Independent Vermont*.

The earliest traditions of Vermont, therefore, emphasize the independence and separateness of Vermonters. After going it alone successfully for almost a decade and a half, Vermont was willing to enter the United States as a "whole and entire member" for the advantages to be gained from membership in the strengthened Union. Nevertheless, Vermonters continued to place their main reliance upon their own state government in most matters, retaining their original tendency to be suspicious of all outside interference in their affairs. The most familiar recent example of this traditional spirit was the dissent of Vermont (and Maine) to the tremendous popular endorsement of President Roosevelt in 1936. The vote of Vermont in 1936 was not merely a repetition of the Republican voting habit to which Vermont has been addicted since the Civil War, but also symbolized the Vermonters' ingrained distrust of the interference and control which so much of Roosevelt's New Deal represented. Even in the face of the most terrible economic crises in the history of the state, Vermonters were still strongly under the spell of their hoary tradition to "go it alone" and "do for ourselves." The importance of this for the development of agricultural policy in Vermont will be seen in a later chapter.

Also significant for an understanding of the shaping of agricultural policy in Vermont is a knowledge of the character of government in Vermont, particularly with reference to the composition of the legislature. The legislature of Vermont has a construction which has had great importance in the making of all laws involving agricultural questions, as well as other matters requiring legislation. The lower house of the legislature, the House of Representatives, has been based, since the Constitution of 1777, upon a system of equal representation of towns. The Vermont Constitution still provides that, "in order that the freemen of the State may enjoy the benefit of election as equally as may be," each inhabited town may choose one representative to represent it in the House of Representatives. Adherence to this original method of representation in the course of the last one hundred and seventy years has multiplied the number of members of Vermont's lower house to the somewhat unwieldy number of two hundred and forty-six. The Senate, on the other hand, is composed of a fixed number, thirty, who are apportioned to the fourteen counties of Vermont according to the population as ascertained in each decennial census of the United States.

The system of equal representation for the towns in the House of Representatives has produced, in the modern era of Vermont's history, a strikingly inequitable arrangement which seems to be a variance

with the generally accepted American belief that the lower house of the legislative assembly is the more popular and more representative body. At the time of the framing of the Constitution of 1777, this method of town representation was undoubtedly equitable and soundly based upon the strong localist loyalties of Vermonters. In those days, there were not such glaring differences of population among the Vermont towns. However, in the normal course of population growth, even without such sweeping shifts as are brought about by a fast-moving industrial revolution, such a system of representation was certain to become less and less equitable. The inevitable "rotten borough" conditions have appeared in Vermont so that, in the twentieth century, Burlington has one representative for almost twelve thousand voters, while St. George, in the same county, has forty-one voters and six other towns have less than five hundred voters to elect their town representative. In this same county (Chittenden), Burlington with more than half of the voting population sent only one representative to the lower house, while slightly less than one-half of the voting population scattered in sixteen towns had sixteen members to represent them.[12] This situation, of course, tends to overrepresent the rural districts of Vermont as compared to the urban districts. In consequence, the House of Representatives has always been the stronghold of the farming interests. As a matter of fact, farmers have always constituted the largest occupational group by far in the history of Vermont's House of Representatives. During the nineteenth century and for two decades of the twentieth, the number of members of the House reporting themselves to be farmers by occupation was usually an absolute majority of the House membership. Since 1920, the number of members of the House of Representatives who are farmers has declined slowly to an average of a little more than one-third of the total membership.[13]

The decline in the number of farmer members of the Vermont House of Representatives reflects, in part, the slowly changing rural-urban relationships of the Vermont population. In the hundred years from 1840 to 1940, the percentage of population classed as rural by the Bureau of the Census declined from 100% to 65%. Equally notable is the trend in rural population revealed by data available since 1920 concerning the proportion of the rural farm population

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12 These figures are for the year 1935. See *Vermont Legislative Directory*, 1935, 291.

13 These generalizations are based upon the biographical data compiled and recapitulated in the *Vermont Legislative Directory*, 1886–1943.

(i.e. actually living on farms) to the total population. The rural farm population between 1920 and 1940 declined from 35.3 to 29.4%, while the rural non-farm population (i.e. people living in places under 2,500 population but not on farms) rose from 33.5 to 36.3% in the same period. This means that less than half of the population classed as rural lived on farms and only 29.4% of the total population of Vermont was actually living on farms in 1940.[14]

The declining percentage of farm population and the diminishing number of farmer representatives in the legislature does not mean that the farming interests are no longer a potent force in the lower house of the Vermont legislature. The farmers are still by far the largest occupational group included in the membership of the House of Representatives. Moreover, it must be remembered that the lawyers, merchants, dealers, teachers, clerks, salesmen and others who come from the rural towns of Vermont are inescapably allied with the farmers upon whose prosperity and good will their own position depends. It is in these ways that the antiquated town representation system still operates to overrepresent the farming interests in the state of Vermont.

To the "urbanites" of Vermont, this situation means that the public policies of the State are at the mercy of men who have limited horizons, who are niggardly in providing the necessary services for a modern state, and who are just downright ignorant of the requirements of banking, business, manufacturing, utilities and all of the other important interests of the cities and larger towns of Vermont. The farming interests, on the other hand, see nothing unfair in the situation. To them agriculture is the most important industry in the State, upon which the economic welfare of all Vermonters depends and, therefore, it is only right that the farmer should have some means of protecting his rights and getting his "fair share."[15]

And yet, if the non-agricultural interests in Vermont feel that they are not enjoying "the benefits of election as equally as may be" in the

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14 *U. S. Census*, 1940, Population, Vol. II, Part 7, 87.

15 This feeling was expressed, with a humorous twist, by the "gentleman from Hayville" who wrote in his "diary" during the 1909 legislature as follows:
"I heerd today that the State spent most $100,000 since the Legislature met for testing cows and killing the bad ones. What of it? I sat in the House two weeks ago and heerd most $100,000 voted away in 20 minutes. Us farmers is entitled to our share."

Howard L. Hindley, *The Gentleman from Hayville*. Extracts from the Diary of a New Member originally published in the *Rutland Herald*, (Rutland, Vt., 1909), 49. This was a humorous and fictitious diary which contains, nevertheless, some revealing insights.

lower house of the legislature, they can certainly take comfort in the record of the Vermont Senate. Representation in that body is more fairly apportioned since it is based upon the actual population of the counties as reported after each census. Moreover, the Senate has always had a different occupational make-up compared with that of the House. Never in the past sixty years have more than a third of the members of the Senate been primarily farmers by occupation and, more usually, the number of farmers in the Senate has been about a half-dozen out of the total membership of thirty.[16] In the upper house, there has always been a high proportion of lawyers,merchants, manufacturers, doctors and other professional men. It is to be expected, therefore, that the Vermont Senate has acquired the reputation of being the main sounding board for the business and industrial interests of Vermont. To the sophisticated "urbanites" of Vermont, the Senate is a useful check upon the rampant agricultural interests of the House of Representatives. For the farming interests of Vermont, on the other hand, the Senate Chamber has often seemed to be the place where the greatest betrayals of the interests of the noble sons of the soil have taken place and where many a cherished agricultural bill has been daggered to death in the best conspiratorial manner.

This is not to imply that the House and the Senate have usually been at odds concerning agricultural policies. Quite the contrary is the record for the last seventy-five years. But there have been a few spectacular battles which have added excitement to the history of Vermont politics. More often, the Senate has forced discussion of agricultural measures out of the secret recesses of legislative committees (where no adequate records are kept) into the published reports of legislative debates of the daily newspapers. And for such a favor, the historian must be grateful.

CONCLUSION

The major purposes in the development of Vermont's agricultural policies in the last seventy years have been the collection of useful statistics and information, the encouragement of agricultural education, the promotion of agricultural associations, the establishment of improved grades and standards in farm products, the regulation and inspection of creameries, the protection of butter from the competition

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16 This, too, can be ascertained by consulting the recapitulations of biographical data in the *Vermont Legislative Directory*, 1886–1943.

of oleomargarine, the eradication of cattle diseases, the promotion of cooperative marketing associations and, more recently, the regulation of milk marketing. The furtherance of these policies has occasioned an ever increasing number of state laws dealing with agriculture and a notable expansion of the Vermont State Department of Agriculture. At the same time, agriculture had established an effective claim to a much larger slice of the state's budgetary pie. In 1870, the legislature of Vermont was appropriating less than $5000 a year for agricultural purposes; in 1945, the legislature appropriated more than $500,000 for the various agricultural activities of the state.

In view of the great number of agricultural laws which were added to the collected statutes of Vermont over the last seventy years and the multifarious duties which the Department of Agriculture has accumulated, one might properly ask what have been the dominant tendencies in the shaping of Vermont's agricultural policies? At this point one is reminded of the persistent legislative bickering now and again breaking out into a violent battle as in the controversy over the State Agricultural College in 1840 or the eradication of bovine tuberculosis in 1923. Also, by taking the long look backward over the years, the fumbling nature of the legislative process in Vermont becomes strikingly apparent. Time and again, as with the Board of Agriculture, the State Agricultural College, or the tuberculosis eradication program, the legislature failed to make a definite decision when the situation demanded a clear-cut solution. Yet, legislative bickering and fumbling and the resulting tortuous evolution of policy are not characteristics to which Vermonters can make any special claim. Vacillation and procrastination are typical of the behavior of most state legislatures in the United States. In the face of demands from strongly organized pressure groups or the resistance of stubbornly entrenched interest groups, the average legislator tends to favor postponement or compromise in order to "stay out of trouble."

If we wish to discover the influences upon the development of agricultural policies which are more peculiar to Vermont, we need to look beyond the behavior characteristics of Vermont legislatures. With the evidence at hand in this study, it seems fair to say that there are two basic influences which have shaped the agricultural policies of Vermont—poverty and particularism. These two influences are determined respectively by the special economic conditions and the unique historical tradition of Vermont. A further word needs to be said about both in the interests of clarity and fairness.

There are many Vermonters who would prefer to use the word

parsimony rather than poverty to characterize the development not only of agricultural policies but of policies in other fields. At least many Vermonters said as much with considerable vehemence to the author and a few used some choice unprintable expressions as their preferred substitutes for a dictionary word like parsimony. It must be admitted that parsimony, at first glance, appears to be a very attractive description to apply to Vermont legislators and administrators. It seems to conform so neatly with the popular stereotype of the Vermont farmer as a closemouthed, close-fisted individual. Or, as many of the Vermont farmer's severest critics within his own state put it, "the average Vermont farmer never sees more than a few hundred dollars a year so that he cannot possibly conceive of the hundreds of thousands of dollars that are needed to carry on the functions of a modern state."

Unfortunately for those who like to rely upon popular stereotypes, this sardonic insistence upon the niggardliness of the farmer-dominated legislature does not stand up in a fair analysis of the economic ability of the state of Vermont. Actually, when Vermont is compared with other states, her financial efforts become quite notable. This can be seen in a very interesting analysis of the financing of state and local governments made by the Federal Bureau of the Census in 1941.

The first aim of the Bureau of the Census in this analysis was to determine the relative economic abilities of the forty-eight states. To do this, an index of economic ability was developed which was based upon three measures of annual economic income in the various states. These three measures were: (1) estimated income payments to individuals comprising salaries and wages, other labor income such as pensions, relief and social insurance, entrepreneurial income, and dividends, interest, rents and royalties; (2) the value of output of basic industries comprising farming production, mining production, and value added by manufacturing; (3) retail sales. The per capita amounts for income payments, output of basic industries, and retail sales were computed for each one of the forty eight states and compared with the national average per capita for each of the three measures. In this way, it was possible to discover the relative position of each state with reference to its economic ability by calculating the percentage of the national average per capita which each state's per capita represented. Each state could, therefore, be ranked in accordance with such indexes of income payments, output of industries retail sales, and a composite index which weighted each one of these three factors equally.

In this way, it was possible to measure more accurately the generally known fact that Vermont belongs to the group of 26 states which were below the national average of economic ability. Vermont, with a composite index of 86 ranked 29th among the states in economic ability. Thus, while Vermont is not the poorest state in the Union, it barely escapes being within the lowest third of the states in economic ability. It is important to note at this point, however, that, in its own geographic section, New England or New England and the Middle Atlantic States combined, Vermont is clearly the state with the lowest economic ability. Even Vermont's northern New England neighbors, Maine and New Hampshire, have significantly higher indexes of economic ability.

With such reasonable indexes of economic ability, it becomes possible to weigh the revenue load of each state. In other words, a fair determination can be made of the extent to which state and local governmental units make use of their economic ability to collect revenues, to spend and to borrow in order to carry on their various public services. The Bureau of the Census, therefore, calculated the per capita of state and local revenue for each state and compared it with the national average of per capita revenue. As in the case of the index of economic ability, it was possible to compute a revenue rank for each state by the per cent of the national average per capita that its per capita of state and local revenue represented. Then a measure of the extent of use of economic ability was made possible by computing an index of revenue load. The index of revenue load was determined by dividing the revenue index of each state by the corresponding index of economic ability and multiplying by 100.

The resulting indexes are very revealing concerning the behavior of Vermont in the field of public finance. Vermont's index of revenue load for local government revenue was 156—the highest index for all of the states! The index of revenue load for state revenue in Vermont was 113, or 15th in a rank order of the states. The index of revenue load for state and local revenue combined was 135 for Vermont—the highest for all of the forty eight states.

These indexes of revenue load are highly significant. They indicate that Vermont has been making a relatively heavy use of its limited economic resources to carry on its public services at the state and local level. Only one other state (New York) has a revenue burden at the local government level as heavy as Vermont's. No other state in the Union is straining its economic resources for state and local revenue combined as is the state of Vermont.

One qualification needs to be added here to complete the picture. While Vermont has a heavy revenue load, it does not have a correspondingly heavy debt load. According to the index of debt load (computed in the same fashion as the index of revenue load), Vermont stands very close to the bottom of a rank order of the forty eight states. Only three other states in the Union, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Nevada, had lower indexes of debt load. This indicates that the state of Vermont is a reluctant borrower. In this regard, Vermont was an exception to the general picture for the whole country. Most of the states with above average resources had less than average debt loads, while a majority of the states with under average resources had debt indexes either above average or higher than their indexes of economic ability.[16]

These impersonal statistical figures contain the evidence of Vermont's poverty and the key to an understanding of the behavior of the Vermont legislators in the area of agricultural policy as well as other policies. Of course, the poverty of Vermont is not an abject poverty; there are at least nineteen other states with lower economic ability. Vermont's poverty is a respectable poverty resting upon slender resources which are carefully managed in public finance. But Vermont happens to be located in a geographical section which contains many states with some of the richest economic resources in the country. Consequently, she has to strain her very limited resources to try to keep up with the public services of neighboring states. Unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately) Vermonters live in an area of high costs and high standards in state and local governmental activities.

The reason for the apparent parsimony of Vermont legislatures becomes clearer in the light of the data concerning the relative revenue loads of the states. The revenue load of local government in Vermont is the highest in the United States. This means that rural legislators came from towns where the tax burden, on the average, is the heaviest in the country, and this is a highly visible tax burden because local taxes are very direct, falling primarily upon real and personal property. Hence the reluctance of Vermont legislatures to make large appropriations which would increase an already heavy tax load is understandable. This goes a long way towards explaining, for example, the failure of legislatures again and again to appropriate adequate

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16 Complete explanations of these indexes with tables may be found in, *The Book of the States*, 1943–1944, (The Council of State Governments, Chicago), pp. 207–213.

funds for the recognizable responsibilities of the state in agricultural education or the eradication of cattle diseases. The restraining tug of the lean hand of necessity was undoubtedly a primary influence in causing legislatures to make what, in retrospect, appear to have been very unwise decisions not to increase appropriations for agricultural activities or to offer much too little for the job that needed to be done. Poverty can lead states as well as individuals into the error of being "penny wise and pound foolish." Even so, Vermont has acquired a relatively heavy revenue burden in order to carry on the essential services of a modern state in a minimal fashion. To be sure, the legislature of Vermont has been more unwilling than most states to borrow money for some of the heavy initial outlays necessary for modern activities in agricultural and other fields, but such caution seems necessary in the face of limited economic resources and the existing weight of taxation.

Less needs to be said about the historical influence of particularism in the development of Vermont's agricultural policies. A sturdy spirit of independence is sanctified by the historical tradition of the making of Vermont which is well known to most Vermonters since it is taught in their schools. Moreover, Vermonters have kept that spirit very much alive in the present century by their political behavior and their relations with the federal government. That same particularism can be seen in many ways in the agricultural history of the state. A notable example is the uncooperative activity of the Vermont cooperative creameries in the Boston milkshed before the imposition of federal regulation of milk marketing. It can be seen in the promotion of a Vermont federation of creameries to produce quality products that will make their way into the market as *Vermont* products. Also, the same attitude was evident in the earlier years of the fight against oleomargarine. To Vermont dairymen, it was *Vermont butter* (the best!) which was being threatened by this artificial substitute. Finally, the same particularist spirit is apparent in the persistent policy of the Department of Agriculture to encourage high standards of quality and grading in every field—poultry, apples, maple sugar as well as dairy products—as a means of developing state brands that will be accepted everywhere as a mark of excellence.

Of course, the Vermont farmer has not been foolishly stubborn in this particularism. He learned the value of interstate cooperation during the crisis years under the New Deal. The benefits of the federal milk marketing order were experienced directly by the farmers of Vermont who voted overwhelmingly to continue such regional

cooperation in 1937. Also, in the same way, Vermont has availed itself of many federal aids, even with strings attached, in such fields as agricultural education and the eradication of cattle diseases. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that, whenever possible, Vermont, in the field of agriculture as in other fields, will cling to as much distinctiveness as possible.

LITTLE RIVER

By Pauline Moody

Strictly speaking, Little River is one of the two small streams flowing south from Stowe through Waterbury into the Winooski River. However, those familiar with this River before its waters were held back by one of the largest earth flood-control dams in the country automatically associate with it the settlements on the narrow intervales and numerous hills adjacent to it.

Little River, which mostly appears on maps as the Waterbury River, is formed by the confluence of the East and West branches in Stowe. Miller and Gold Brooks flow into it before it reaches Moscow, and below that community it is again enlarged by Nebraska Brook. After the stream enters the township of Waterbury, Cotton Brook, Bryant Brook (from Ricker Mountain), and Alder Brook empty into it.

It was on Alder Brook that a moose was shot for the first Thanksgiving dinner in Waterbury. In 1786, Ezra Butler the second settler said to James Marsh who had preceded him, "This is Thanksgiving. How shall we keep it?" Not only had Mr. Marsh lost track of the days; his family was so nearly destitute of food there was nothing with which to prepare a suitable meal. Whereupon, Mr. Butler suggested the moose hunt which ended so successfully.

At that time, the most traveled road from Waterbury to Stowe was over Blush Hill and across Alder Brook. Close to where the road crossed Alder Brook, Joshua Hill built a plank tavern and fitted it with two brick ovens and five fireplaces. Here Oliver Luce lodged before pressing on to become the first settler in Stowe.

At a meeting held at Hill's tavern in 1802, it was voted to hold town meeting the year ensuing "at the school House on the River." Today no one seems to know where that "school House" was situated. But in it it was voted "to raise two Cents on the Dollar . . . for the support of schools payable in good Wheat and six Shillings per Bushel; Rye at four & Ind Corn at three Shillings the Bus."

Later the Ziba Smith schoolhouse was erected not far from Hill's tavern. When it was no longer needed there, it was moved to the Gregg Hill district.

It is said that at one time school was held for two years in the Barber home, near the mouth of Alder Brook, while the frame of a schoolhouse stood untouched because of some misunderstanding. In all likelihood, the completed building was the one on the River road in which classes were held until construction was begun on the dam.

A diary for the year 1888, found in a house on Little River, reads: May 7 "School begun." July 16 "The teacher came to board." December 3 "School begun." And a town report of about the same vintage states that the cost of one pupil per day in No. 9 (Little River) was eight cents. Other school districts in adjacent territory were: No. 18 (Cotton Brook), No. 6 (the S. M. Eddy district), No. 8 (Gregg Hill), No. 4 (Blush Hill), No. 10 (Ricker Mountain), and No. 13 (Woodward Hill).

Dr. Daniel Bliss, the first physician in Waterbury, settled near the mouth of Little River, and so did Seth Chandler, the first blacksmith. But the land along the River, reaching back toward Stowe, was not settled for some time. It was so marshy and so thickly wooded that as late as the 1830s one of the Rickers of Ricker Mountain referred to the Little River valley as nothing but an alder swamp. However, deer, moose, and beaver were so plentiful that hunters wore a trail through the valley to Stowe. Eventually the River road followed this trail.

Lorenzo Dow, the famous Methodist circuit preacher, is said to have lost both his shoes in fording Little River on his way to Stowe in 1799. Nevertheless, it was the influence of Charles Bowles, a Free Will Baptist, which bore fruit. In 1828 the records of the Huntington Quarterly meeting refer to a church "called Waterbury and Bolton, and sometimes Ricker Hill, having from 15 to 22 members." Ten years later another church on Gleason Hill, of about 20 members, applied to the Quarterly meeting for a committee to assist in settling difficulties. A Free Will Baptist society was organized on Little River in 1840.

After much discussion, a site not far from the mouth of Alder Brook was chosen for a church and sums ranging from five to seventy-five dollars were contributed in cash or in grain or stock, in lumber and labor, in joiner work and in painting. One member promised to finish off a small Gothic steeple.

In 1860 the meeting-house society "voted to move back the side pews to make room for two stoves instead of one; . . . to remove the pew doors and put railings and arms on the pews." Later the back part of the church was again remodeled by taking out the stairways and building over the gallery.

The Little River bridge, near the church, was the scene of numberous baptizings. "In the winter of 1863–4 the ice was several times removed, and scores were baptized by immersion in the openings thus made in the river at times when the mercury was below zero."[1]

Services had been discontinued in the Little River church long before it was sold to the State of Vermont. The building is now a Pentecostal church in Stowe Hollow. At the final service, held August 1935, Mrs. Nora Newhall Hodge, the oldest living member of the choir, was among the singers. And Mrs. Estella Pike Moulton read an excellent history prepared from the secretary's report and from knowledge she had received from her father and mother, grandmother and grandfather. Andrew Burleigh, the last member of the church, died in 1934.

Also describing the life in this farming and mill country are entries in the diary already mentioned: "Peddler came; stayed all night." "I was to Thompson's—quarterly meeting." "I and Nellie cleaned milk butry." "Nellie and I went to Frank's to eat maple sugar." "Sowed my sage, chamomile, lettis." "Baked wheat bread and brown bread." "Chopped mince meat." "We churned. Filled a tub of butter—15 pounds." "I tried out tallow."

In spite of these quiet entires, at times there was intense excitement on the River. It is said that on Gregg Hill, not far from Hill's Tavern, a peddler disappeared very mysteriously; near the church a girl hanged herself; a child from another town was given poison and then brought to a lonely spot beyond the Little River bridge and buried beside the road; and on Cotton Brook a drunken man murdered his wife and mother.

From the first, settlers made good use of the mill privileges on Little River. As early as 1796 a saw and grist mill, under one roof, were erected in Stowe Lower village and later mills were built in Moscow. Near the mouth of Cotton Brook (named after a man not the plant) in a mill put up by Richard Demeritt was an up and down saw. Afterward this mill was operated by Leonard Foster, father of Dr. Foster who was adopted by Mary Baker Eddy.

A Mr. Bashford is thought to be the first settler any distance up the River.[2] He made his pitch "in that beautiful vale above the mills" and was succeeded by a Mr. Calkins whose several sons built tenements around the mill erected by another son, Rev. Charles Calkins.

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1 Smith, Herschel F. *History of the Waterbury River Free Will Baptist Church from 1840 to 1890*, 1890.

2 Parker, Rev. C. C. *Early History of Waterbury*, 1867.

This mill, built sometime during the 1820s, was where the water fell twenty-five feet.

Among the other owners of the mill was Hiram Gale whose widow sold it before moving to Galesville, Wisconsin, in 1859. The Gale daughter, at the age of ninety-three, had her son write from Baltimore, Maryland: "My mother remembers a flood that made many changes below the mill site. . . . As living along the river she gave names and location of homes of Brown, Minot, Douglas, Akely, Whitney, Morse, Rutherford, Elder Fuller, Beebe, Henry, George Randall, Davis, and Coffrin; also Stockwell and Gleason and Luce."

George Randall, a native of Ricker Mountain and a successful forty-niner, owned the mill for many years. When he sold it in 1907 to Luke Roberts the *Waterbury Record* made this statement: "Mr. Roberts will use the mill property for the present for lumber business, but it is understood that the new owner has under consideration the idea of putting in an electric plant. If a dam is put in sufficient in height for an electric plant it will flood a territory one mile long and one-half a mile wide. This would give the locality a wonderful lake."

When plans for an electric trolley line between Waterbury and Stowe were under discussion, one was for a line along Little River. Its advocates maintained that power could be generated along the way—no mean argument since "with pork at 2¾ cents, eggs from 8 to 10 cents, and butter as high proportionately" every economy was to be considered in building the road. Nevertheless, the trolley line went through Waterbury Center instead of the Little River Valley.

A dream in connection with Little River that did come true was that concerning a dam at the Roberts mill. But it required a major catastrophe to bring it about—the flood of 1927.

Of that flood Dr. Julia Shipman, a native of Waterbury and at the time a graduate student at Clark University, wrote in part in "The New England Flood" which was published in the *Journal of Geography:* "The immediate cause of the flood was a torrential downpour which began on November 2 and continued for about thirty-six hours. . . . One storm came from the west and was turned southward by the area of high pressure in the St. Lawrence Valley. The second storm came north from the coast of Cuba and would probably have continued to follow the coast had not this great high-pressure wall deflected it up the Connecticut Valley. The southern storm, having come from the tropics, was warm air well filled with moisture and the other also showed high humidity, so that the two in conjunction broke all records for rainfall in this vicinity. Someone has estimated

that 7,000,000,000 tons of water fell; 4,000,000,000 in Vermont, which is 432,115 tons to the square mile."

In the Winooski Valley fifty-five persons lost their lives, and the damage to property was estimated at $13,500,000. To prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe, in 1933 President Roosevelt signed two bills: one appropriating money for the construction of dams at Wrightsville, East Barre, Montpelier, and on Little River in Waterbury, and the other providing for a Civilian Conservation Corps to build them.

June 1, 1935, Robert Fechner, director of the emergency conservation work, and Gov. Charles M. Smith turned the first soil with silver spades; on August 1, 1936, President Roosevelt visited the project; and on October 19, 1938, the Waterbury Little River Dam was formally delivered to the State of Vermont.

At the time of the dedication the *Waterbury Record* said: "Over three years of labor went into the construction of this mammoth earth dam, one of the largest of its kind in New England. 2,500 men were employed on the huge earth embankment of over two million cubic yards together with the auxiliary works. The dam is over 2,000 feet long with a maximum height of about 175 feet. 160 trucks of 4 yd. capacity each were used to transport the earth to the dam from pits up the valley where the soil was excavated by 12 large power shovels. The center of the dam is composed of 500,000 cubic yards of clay with selected graded gravel on each side and a heavy rock fill at both the upstream and downstream toes of the dam. Each layer of earth was spread and rolled thoroughly before the next succeeding layer was dumped.

"The Little River is diverted through a concrete conduit nearly semi-circular in sections, 14 feet wide and 10 and one-half feet high. A steel transition section consisting of two parallel 54 inch pipes has been installed in the outlet. Two 48 inch free discharge regulators (needle valves) in the valve house at the downstream end of the conduit regulate the flow of water through the pipes from nothing up to 1,500 cubic feet per second. To provide protection to the earth embankment in case of a flood of great magnitude, a spillway of reinforced concrete 252 feet long and 25 feet high is constructed at the end of the dam. 20,000 cubic yards of concrete have been poured into the various structures of the dam. With the water in the reservoir at spillway crest a lake about six miles long will be formed."

Now in place of farms and mills below Moscow is this lake. And in season hunters roam the hillsides looking not for moose, as did Ezra Butler and James Marsh so long ago, but for deer.

Vermont Folkways

Edited by Leon W. Dean

These Are Some Vermont Folkways

Vermont folklore may perhaps be divided into five classes: Folkways, Folksay, Folk Beliefs, Folk Tales, Folk Songs.

Folkways include: Ceremonies, customs, processes, practices, recipes, remedies, games, dances.

Folksay includes: Proverbs, riddles, native sayings, peculiar local words, occupational terms, epitaphs, place names.

Folk Beliefs include: Supernatural beliefs, weather signs, strange religious dogmas, wishing formulas, cures, dreams, omens, nature beliefs.

Folk Tales include: Legends, tall tales, supernatural stories, pioneer and animal incidents, short yarns of all kinds, anecdotes about historical figures, stories of eccentric characters, narratives about peddlers and smugglers and other classes of people, traditions concerning important events, fables, myths, buried treasure stories.

Folk Songs include: Songs about tragic and other events, songs about individuals, occupational songs, love songs, game songs, nature and place songs, religious songs. LWD

Improvised Snowplow

When a farmer plowed his strip of road, he usually fastened a medium-sized iron or brass kettle to the nose of a sled by means of chains. Using a yoke of oxen, he plowed one furrow, turned, and on his way back plowed the other furrow. The kettle, which was kept upright, would gouge out the snow and also weight it down.

—Lillian G. Symons, *Enosburg Falls.*

Washing Sheep

In Marlboro washing sheep was done at one of the all-too-few waterfalls. At the foot, the water was two or three feet deep. Stones had been picked out, leaving a good smooth place to stand in. A wooden spout was run upstream to allow about a five-foot fall and some force. One man would stand near the drop and hand the sheep to another, who stood in the pool, to wash them. The wool had to be separated into small lots all over a sheep's body, and as the falling water ran into these parts the wool was squeezed over and over until the water rinse was as clear as the water about the sheep. The washer held the soaked sheep long enough for some of the water to drip off so that the animal would not fall beneath the heavy weight of wool, and then another sheep would be handed down to him.

The whole neighborhood came to the falls. Sometimes one flock would be waiting for another flock to be finished. Sometimes the cold spring water would chill the washer and he would be given a drink of raw new rum. Later people learned to wait until warmer weather for washing sheep. Boys ducked the lambs, while their fathers did the sheep. It was quite a holiday for the boys, but it took a stout man under the spout. Often a nervy animal would trip the washer and give him a good ducking. This pleased the onlookers, but left the victim quite chagrined.

The day after washing, the sheep would be ready to be sheared. Most of the wool was cut off by the shearer, but a few dirty locks, probably around the rear, were picked off, washed again, carded by hand, and spun into coarse ropes which were used for making mops.

—Alice S. Whitney, *Wilmington.*

Flip

Flip is the earliest chronicled American drink.

An old recipe requires that there be stirred into a pitcher of strong home-brewed beer enough molasses to sweeten the beer and give it something to fight with. To this was added one jorum of rum for each drink, heated with a red-hot poker.

Some would break an egg into this drink before serving. If a goose egg, it was called "a yard of flannel." If a hen's egg or a wild pigeon's egg, it was called "short and simple flannels."

—Alice S. Whitney, *Wilmington.*

Soft Soap

Usually after the sugaring season was over, Mother would begin the chore of making soft soap for the coming year. The ashes that had accumulated from the winter fires were placed in barrels that were elevated onto platforms. Water was poured over the ashes and was allowed to seep through. A hole was made at the bottom of each barrel, and the resulting lye trickled out into tubs to be later used in the soap.

All grease that had accumulated during the winter from frying and from meat scraps was added to the lye. This was boiled for a long time in a brass kettle until thick enough to use as soft soap. The soap was placed in the cellar in barrels and used during the year for laundry purposes, cleaning and dish washing.

—Bernece Clark, *Enosburg Falls.*

1870 Recipe for Souse and Scrapple

To make souse have the feet of the hog cut off at the ankle joint, not leaving too much meat on the toes. Soak in salt and water, and change the water until the blood is removed. Scrape thoroughly and have the nails cut off before putting into the brine. Boil in clear water until the bones will fall out. It is well to add four hocks to twelve feet in order to have enough meat. Remove the bones while hot. Keep the water well over the meat by replenishing from the tea kettle. Never add cold water to boiling meat. After all the bones are removed and the meat is perfectly tender, leave in the kettle and allow fat to rise over night. Remove this and return the meat to the fire, and have ready a quart of good cider vinegar and a little black pepper. Let it heat in a porcelain dish, add the melted meat and gelatine, and allow it to become thoroughly hot. Cut the hot meat with a knife and add more salt if necessary. Have a stone jar ready to pour in. Enough fat will remain to use on top, which will keep it if put in a cool, dry place, but not in a cellar. Cut in slices to serve cold. This makes an excellent supper dish with a few baked potatoes, but always heat it for them in a porcelain dish.

To make scrapple prepare the feet as for souse, add also the ears if perfectly cleaned, the snout and the upper part of the head after the eyes have been cut out. When the bones are all removed—and be sure not one is left—take off the fat left to rise over night, and season the meat with salt and pepper only. Have it hot, then have ready sifted

corn meal. Sift the meal into the kettle and let boil until of the consistency of corn meal mush. Cook well, stirring all the time, then put it into flat porcelain dishes and let cool. It is served after frying like corn meal mush, or can be eaten cold in very thin slices if preferred.

—Lovina O. Baslow, *Bristol.*

Ann Montague's Quilt

Ann Montague made a quilt eighty years ago. A teacher who boarded with her drew the design of grapes and leaves with pencil on the unbleached muslin. No color was used, but a sculptured effect was achieved which gave it more character than mere colors could do.

The quilt was made with two layers of unbleached muslin with a thin layer of cotton batting between. The design was made with tiny running stitches. On the wrong side the muslin was punctured with an ivory stiletto, and each grape and leaf was stuffed with bits of cotton forced through the puncture. This gave an embossed effect to the top of the quilt.

Ann Montague allowed her friends to quilt when they came to call. If the work they did was not as well done as her own, she always took it out and did it over.

Her daughter says that her mother completed the quilt and had twins all in one year. —Elizabeth Covey, *Wilmington.*

Straw Tick Mattress

Information received which dates back to 1763 tells how straw ticks were made. In the fall neighbors had husking bees. When husking, all the best husks were put in one pile, while the poor husks were put in another pile.

After husking, the women would gather the good husks into bags holding about two bushels. It took five or six of these bags to fill an ordinary sized bed tick.

Ticking was bought by the yard and made up according to the size of the bed, with a large slit in the top through which the women could fill the tick easily.

Of course every morning when the beds were made, the women just inserted their right hands in the slit and shoved the husks into an even position all over. The beds when made should look very smooth.

In the spring these ticks were emptied out of doors so the ticks could be washed. When the ticks were dried, the women took the

husks up gently, being sure to let the wind blow through, thus shaking out the broken pieces. When this task was finished, two bags of fresh husks were inserted, so as to make the tick puffed up high. The higher the tick, the better a bed looked thought the women of early times. —Lillian L. Jacobs, *Burlington.*

Bag Pudding

One thing I remember that Mother used to make that we never hear of now was the "bag pudding" that was cooked with the boiled dinner of vegetables. After she had the vegetables cooking, she made the pudding from corn meal, flour, sugar, milk, leavening etc., and added dried berries, raisins and currants. She placed this in a bag made of muslin and tied it tight, leaving room to swell. This was placed on the top of the vegetables and allowed to steam until done. It was eaten for dessert with cream and sugar. Too bad so delectable a dish isn't made any more. —Bernece Clark, *Enosburg Falls.*

Measuring Cattle

It used to be common practice to determine the weight of cattle, usually steers, by measuring their greatest girth with a measuring chain.

The chain I saw at Mr. Wallace Allen's in Jacksonville is a good firm chain, not unlike a dog chain in size, perhaps seven or eight feet long. It is fastened to and wrapped around a large spool. For convenience each foot of the chain is marked off with a shoe button sewed into a link.

Cattle were usually measured in pairs, and this scale was fairly accurate they say. Cattle—an ox team—measuring six feet weighed a ton. Every additional inch over six feet added fifty pounds for each animal, or one hundred pounds to the pair. That is, a team of oxen measuring six feet, one inch each, weighed 2100 pounds.

Teams of oxen were usually pretty much the same size, and they also liked to have them similarly marked as to color. Most teams weighed a ton anyway. —Alice S. Whitney, *Wilmington.*

These Are Some Vermont Folk Tales

He Forgot Something

There was the old gentleman who we knew as Judge X though he was only a justice of the peace. He was a pillar of the church, and it was a never ending wonder to us children that he had once been quite the opposite. He was very eccentric but a sterling member of society. When he was baptized by immersion it was an outdoor affair and held in the river running through his farm and near the house. Others were being immersed and it was nearly time for the Judge to have the rite administered when he suddenly said, "Excuse me. I forgot something." He started to run toward the house. No one was too much surprised, for he was odd anyway. Probably he had forgotten to take off some article of clothing he did not care to have wet. He soon came back smiling. "It's all right now," he said. "I had had forgotten my pocketbook and that seems about the hardest thing to get converted and I want that baptized too." And into his pocket he slipped his big wallet. —Vera F. Weightman, *Burlington.*

Legend of Algonquin Peak

Watometa, an Algonquin maiden, was loved by an Iroquois warrior, whose father, a sachem, thoroughly disapproved of such an attachment. The young Iroquois disobeyed his father, married the maid, and sat at the Algonquin fire. Some months later, the youth was hunting on Lincoln Mountain when he came upon his father. The sachem tried to persuade the young man to leave Watometa and return to the Iroquois camp; but when he was unsuccessful, he killed his son. Watometa searched the mountain for her husband, finally learned the truth, and died of a broken heart.

From this old Indian legend, Algonquin Peak, sometimes called Potato Hill, received its name. —Marion Rowley, *Burlington.*

Damn Yimmen Yip-Up

Dillon Holden, because of a speech difficulty, hated to speak to anyone except members of his family. It would take quite a provocation to make him talk with outsiders.

Men were spreading gravel on the road just below his farm home in Wilmington one afternoon, when several women came calling on Dillon's mother. It evidently was a meeting of the Ladies' Aid or something similar.

A screen door slammed, and as the road workers looked up Dillon came off the porch in a rush. He came down where the men were working, visibly upset. He continued to stand there fidgeting, but saying nothing.

"What's going on up at the house, Dillon?" Charlie Brown asked him.

Dillon continued to boil, but still said nothing.

The men would not leave him alone until he told them. Finally he burst out with: "Damn yimmen yip-up!"

Though this was thirty or forty years ago, some husbands are unkind enough, even now, to call any social gathering of women a damn yimmen yip-up. —Mrs. Harry E. Covey, *Wilmington.*

A Colie Lane Story

Colie was one of Marlboro's best story tellers. He seemed to ferret out the gullible listener and fill him full. One of his stories which I relate now is typical of most.

A neighbor, Leonard Brown, had a badly blistered foot. It troubled him some, and he asked Colie what he should do for it.

"Do? Well, I'd put on a good slob of salt pork. 'Course you'd better tie it on, but we old timers 'ould just take about four tacks and tack it on." —Alice S. Whitney, *Wilmington.*

Grandpa Pendolph's Guide

I've heard Mother tell of Grandpa Pendolph, mother's father, in his old age making frequent visits to "Southeast Corners," so-called because it was in the southeastern corner of Sandgate. This was the place he and his wife had lived and raised their family. The visits were after the family had gone their various ways. The wife was dead and Grandpa living with Mother in Sunderland Borough.

To go on with the story—Grandpa started home late in the after-

noon after spending the day on the old place. Being so late, he decided to go across lots. Because of his old age and lack of memory he became lost, and so it was that dark overtook him. Realizing his plight and not knowing of anything better to do, he said aloud to himself: "I wish the old woman were here. She'd know the way."

As in fairy tales his wish was to come true, for even as he spoke he spied a small flicker of light in the woods ahead of him. Peering more closely, he made out that it was a lantern being carried by a woman of the size, dress and stature of his dead wife. He tried his best to catch up with the person he saw, but his efforts were to no avail. The light continued to move just so far ahead of him all the way down the mountain side, and he, following, soon found himself home. Grandma and the lantern disappeared as mysteriously as they came.

—Alice S. Whitney, *Wilmington.*

Trapping Bears With Rum

My pa used to tell a story about maple syrup. Seems ther' was a farmer over Hopkinton way, back in the old days, and he was troubled with bears one spring. Lost a couple o' shoats out of his pen, an' found the tracks o' bears, but couldn't catch up with 'em to shoot 'em. Three or four nights he heard 'em prowlin' 'round the buildin's, scarin' the stock, an' every time he'd run out with the gun, they'd be gone.

Finally he thought up a smart plan. He got his boys to build some wooden troughs, an' set 'em 'round the clearin'. He'd made plenty o' sugar an' syrup, so he took a mess of it an' mixed in the half of a gallon jug o' Medford rum—the kind everybody had in the house them days. Then he put the stuff in the troughs and went to bed. When daylight come, he looked out, an' there was a funny sight. An old she bear an' two cubs was rollin' an' staggerin' around the place drunk as lords. Soon as he could stop laughin' he went out an' shot the big one. The boys kept the cubs for pets.

—K. Anna Fitzsimons, *Burlington.*

Is It Possible?

Henry Holmes was well known in Orleans County back in the 80's. The Holmes family were the "first family" in the old home town, living on the right side of the tracks and that sort of thing.

But no one was quite prepared to see even a Holmes bring a bride home from one of New York's first families.

Henry and the Mrs. bought one of the largest, finest farms in town and settled down to enjoy life. Help was no problem, and there were several hired men and a couple hired girls. Everything was smooth sailing until the mother-in-law from New York made her visit and tour of inspection. From the minute her patrician nose sniffed the hay-scented Vermont air, Henry's plebian senses told him war was in the offing. She assumed an offended-virtue, suffering-in-silence air until dinner time of the next day. She was ready to eat with the family by noon, having been up an hour. As was the custom, the hired men and girls took their usual places at the table.

The mother-in-law rose with offended dignity and, cooly eying Henry, she said in a stony voice, "Henry, is it possible your hired hands eat with the family?"

Henry assumed great indignation. "Gosh, Mother, when I get hired men that are too good to eat with my family, I shall fire them and get some others." —Vera F. Weightman, *Burlington.*

The Wards Leave Town

My sister-in-law told this story, but she feels she doesn't know too much about it. She isn't sure just how many "greats" back it happened, but it is farther back than her great-grandmother. We'll call it one more. Her great-great-grandfather Ward was at Windsor on some state business when he heard the enemy were coming and sent word to his family and the people of Poultney to flee to Bennington. So they hid what belongings they could. The Ward silver was buried at the foot of a tree, and when they returned, it was found. The Wards had a white horse which had strayed away, and they thought he was lost, but the morning they were to start he appeared. They put a feather bed on the horse, and loaded on as many children as they could. Forty women and children started. She thinks it took three weeks. Evidently they came back sometime, and evidently the enemy came, for one family found nothing but a looking glass left.

—Elizabeth Braley, *Putney.*

Punkin This and Punkin That

Rev. Abner Reeves of Brattleboro used to come to Marlborough back in the 1700s before Mr. Lyman became their first established

minister. At the first wedding held in Marlborough, the mother apologized for not having better than pumpkin pudding for dessert. Whereupon Rev. Reeves recited this verse:

> Punkin bread and punkin beer;
> If 'twan't for punkin, we could not live here.
> Punkin pudding and punkin pie;
> If 'twan't for punkin, we should die.

—Alice S. Whitney, *Wilmington.*

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